Appendix

Appendix A

Newark Cityscapes

Figure A.1 Hamidah’s Café and Body Shop is a black Muslim business located on Halsey Street in the Central Ward of Newark. Photo credit: Zenzele Isoke.
Figure A.2  The Afrique Hall mural is located on Halsey Street in the central downtown district of the Central Ward. Photo credit: Zenzele Isoke.

Figure A.3  Dr. Jay’s Clothing Store located near the corner of Market and Mulberry Street. Photo Credit: Zenzele Isoke.
Figure A.4  Neighborhood of the Central Ward. Photo credit: Zenzele Isole.

Figure A.5  All Brothers Liquors #1 is a liquor store located on West Inney Street and Washington Avenue. Photo credit: Zenzele Isole.
## APPENDIX B

### Education, Age, and Occupation of Selected “Political” Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamara Brown</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Property Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayemi Shakur*</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Office Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janyce Jacskon*</td>
<td>Post-Grad, Seminary School</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Executive Director of Social Justice Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June Dowell*</td>
<td>College Student</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlie Ann Grant</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Retired/Volunteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amina Baraka*</td>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Poet/Organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederica Bey*</td>
<td>Community College-Real Estate</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Executive Director of African–American Cultural Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>License</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laquette Nelson*</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Retired Bus Driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana Rone*</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Newark School Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Gaddy*</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Executive Director of Environmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keisha Simpson</td>
<td>Post-Grad, Public Policy</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Organizer for Community Economic Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanie Hendricks*</td>
<td>Post-Grad, Public Administration</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Director, Youth Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivia Taylor</td>
<td>Post-Grad, Social Work</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>New Jersey State Legislator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marilyn Wilson</td>
<td>Post Grad, Law School</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Policy Director, Hospital Adm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SuSu Stewart*</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Youth Activist, Boys and Girls Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrietta Parsons</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Retired Union Organizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ama Mdupe*</td>
<td>Post-Grad, Education</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Executive Director, Social Service Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yvonne Warren</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Newark Municipal Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veronica Osorio*</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Outreach Coordinator, Community Center</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * Activists who decided to go on record.
## APPENDIX C

### Active Organizational Membership/Civic Participation of Black Women Activists in Newark

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Names of Organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ama Mdupe             | President of Newark Public Library  
First Vice President for National Congress of Black Women  
Women’s Board Association of the New Jersey Performing Arts Center  
Chairperson for Commission on the Status of Women in Newark  
Member of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority  
Vice Chairperson for National Congress of Black Women |
| Fayemi Shakur         | Black Student Union—“Black Freedom Society”  
The Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign  
Member of Malcolm X Grassroots Movement  
Minister of Education for the New Black Panther Party  
Alumni of New Leadership of the Eagleton Institute  
Member of Young Men’s Christian Association  
Newark Student Voices  
National Hip Hop Political Convention  
Hands Off Assata Campaign |
| Veronica Osorio       | The All-Star Program-Mentor  
The Leadership Institute-Mentor  
Hip Hop Convention Delegate and Volunteer  
Ebony Club Co-Founder  
Universal Zulu Nation  
Cadet Program—Alumni Program  
T & T Teens Networking for Today  
Newark Public School District-Substitute Teacher |
| Gayle Chaneyfield-Jenkins | Volunteer for the Integrity House  
Jon Corzine’s Women’s Committee  
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
Member of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.  
Member of Bethany Baptist Church  
Board member for the Boys and Girls Club  
Board member for the Independence Family of Services  
Founder of the Newark Women’s Conference  
Founder of 100 Black women  
Founder of the International Congress of Black women  
New Jersey State Opera Guild |
| Amina Baraka          | Community For a Unified Newark  
African Free School  
Black Women United Front  
The National Black Political Assembly |

*Continued*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Names of Organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Janyce Jackson   | Advisory Board of She-Project—African–American Women  
|                  | Newark Pride Alliance  
|                  | Liberation in Truth Unity Fellowship Church  
|                  | Lambda Legal Defense Fund  
|                  | Women Wear Hats  
|                  | Marriage Equality Organization  
|                  | Parent-Teacher Association Member—unspecified  
| Kim Gaddy        | Black Voice/Carta Boricua  
|                  | International Black Women’s National Congress  
|                  | First Baptist Church of Nutley  
|                  | Metropolitan Bowling Center  
|                  | “Above the Rim” Basketball Program  
|                  | National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
|                  | Parent-Teacher Association: Harriet Tubman Elementary School and Weequahic High School  
|                  | Co-founder and President of the Weequahic Alumni Association  
|                  | Essex County Environmental Commission  
|                  | New Jersey Professional Women  
| Keisha Simpson   | National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,  
|                  | National Hip Hop Political Convention,  
|                  | Indian Education Initiative,  
|                  | Near Eastside  
|                  | Neighborhood Association,  
|                  | Historic James Street Commons Association,  
|                  | Beyond Campus.  
| June Dowell      | Gay Men’s Health Crisis  
|                  | Mashood in Brooklyn  
|                  | Newark Pride Alliance  
|                  | Newark Episcopal Church  
|                  | Gay and Lesbian Student Network  
|                  | Project Wow!  
|                  | Gay Straight Alliance  
|                  | North Jersey Community Research Initiative/New Jersey’s Aid Alliance  
| Frederica Bey    | Jihad Health Network  
|                  | Anti-Lynching Campaign  
|                  | Concerned Citizens of Essex County  
|                  | The Legal Women Voters Great  
|                  | Women In Support of the Million Man March  
|                  | People’s Organization for Progress  
|                  | Black Cops Against Police Brutality  
|                  | President of the Carmel Towers  
|                  | Parent-Teacher Association Springfield Avenue Community School  
<p>|                  | Continued |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Names of Organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melanie Hendricks</td>
<td>Leadership Newark&lt;br&gt;Congressional Black Caucus Leadership Institute&lt;br&gt;Member for the Hillside Board of Education&lt;br&gt;Leadership Newark Graduate Organization&lt;br&gt;National Hip Hop Political Convention&lt;br&gt;Eagleton Institute of Politics&lt;br&gt;Rutgers-Newark Urban Studies&lt;br&gt;Rutgers-Newark Public Administration Department&lt;br&gt;American Society for Public Administrators&lt;br&gt;Northern New Jersey American Society for Public Administration Chapter&lt;br&gt;Pi Alpha Honors Society&lt;br&gt;Student Voices&lt;br&gt;Empowerment Civics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivia Taylor</td>
<td>Member of New-Ark&lt;br&gt;Participant of the Black Topological Library&lt;br&gt;Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods&lt;br&gt;Newark Coalition for Low-Income Housing&lt;br&gt;Board Member, Institute of New Jersey&lt;br&gt;Member for the East Orange Board of Education&lt;br&gt;New Jersey School Board Association&lt;br&gt;National Council of Negro Women&lt;br&gt;Lincoln University Alumni&lt;br&gt;National Association for the Advancement of Colored People&lt;br&gt;Urban League&lt;br&gt;Sierra Club&lt;br&gt;Member of the Young Mens Christian Association&lt;br&gt;Trustee for Prevent Child Abuse New Jersey&lt;br&gt;Board Member of Babyland Family Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laquetta Nelson</td>
<td>United States Army (E-5)&lt;br&gt;District Leader- 28th district in the Central Ward&lt;br&gt;Newark Pride Alliance&lt;br&gt;New Jersey Stonewall Democrats&lt;br&gt;Unity Fellowship Church in New Brunswick&lt;br&gt;Executive Board of the New Jersey Gay and Lesbian Coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana Rone</td>
<td>New Black Panther Party&lt;br&gt;Court Appointed Special Advocates&lt;br&gt;Newark Tenants Council&lt;br&gt;Recreation Program&lt;br&gt;General Educational Development Program (GED)&lt;br&gt;Million Man March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamara Brown</td>
<td>Pillars of Peace Youth Ministry&lt;br&gt;Ministry Advisors Council for the New Jersey Performing Arts Center&lt;br&gt;Volunteer of CASA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Names of Organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newark Cycle Club, Public Relations Officer</td>
<td>Churches in Cooperation (CIC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Leaguers, Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Essex County Antiviolence Coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SuSu Stewart</td>
<td>National Hip Hop Political Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newark Boys and Girls Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newark Pride Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yvonne Warren</td>
<td>The Angel’s Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women With Hats for Cure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Babyland Family Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Community Corporation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Introduction

1. In this book the term “black women” refers to black-identified women of color, which includes Puerto Ricans and others who either identify as “black,” or those whom community members themselves referred to as “black political women.”

2. I define black heteropatriarchy as the localized convergence of black racialization, heterosexualization, and patriarchy that forge what is usually unproblematically deemed “black politics” by scholars of urban politics (see for instance, Walters 2005, 1988, Walton 1984). The term heteropatriarchy was originally coined by Linda Hart in Fatal Women: Lesbian Sexuality and the Mark of Aggression, but has since been vigorously used by women of color activists who actively link processes of racism, sexism, colonialism, and imperialism in their writings. For more extended discussions on heteropatriarchy see The Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology (Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, 2005) and Colonize This! Young Women of Color on Today’s Feminism (2002) edited by Daisy Hernandez and Bushra Rehman, and Pedagogies of Crossing (2005) by M. Jacqui Alexander.

3. Laura Pulido (2006) defines differential racialization as the process through which particular sets of racial meanings are attached to different racial/ethnic groups that affect and are a function of class position and racial standing.

4. M. Jacqui Alexander (2005) has called this process spiritual work, or the process through which knowledge comes to be embodied and inscribed in the daily lives of women. Alternatively, Gwendolyn Pough has theorized this process as “bringing wreck” or disrupting dominant discourses in the public sphere, and thereby reshaping the United States imaginarily. For the purpose of this book, these are theorized as “resistance politics” as it is these forms of praxis that enables political mobilizations to take place within predominantly African–American urban communities like the Central Ward of Newark.

5. Following Patricia Hill Collins (2005), I argue that black women’s resistance politics operates within the logic of “the new racism.” “The new racism,” Collins explains, “relies more heavily on the manipulation of ideas in mass media. These new techniques present hegemonic
ideologies that claim that racism is over. They work to obscure the racism that does exist, and they undercut antiracist struggle. Globalization, transnationalism, and the growth of hegemonic ideologies within mass media provide the context for the new racism” (54).

3 Making Place in Newark: Neoliberalization and Gendered Racialization in a US City


2. The Negro in New Jersey a report of a Survey by the Interracial Committee of the New Jersey Conference of Social Work in Cooperation with the State Department of Institutions and Agencies (1932).

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.


7. In 1844, following the era of Jacksonian reform, New Jersey revised its constitution to include the words “white” and “males” to formally exclude Blacks and women from voting. For further discussion see Reclaiming Lost Ground: The Struggle for Woman Suffrage in New Jersey by Neale McGoldrick and Margaret Crocco (1993) and “Negro Suffrage in New Jersey in 1776–1875” by Marion Thompson Wright in Journal of Negro History Vol. 33, No. 2 (1948).


9. For further discussion see The Negro in New Jersey published by the Interracial Committee of the New Jersey Conference of Social Work (1932), Freedom Not Far Distant: A Documentary History of

10. Atkinson, *The History of Newark, New Jersey*.


12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., 49.

14. Ibid.


16. Ibid.


20. In July of 1954, Newark’s politically districts were redrawn into a five ward system. 100% of the Third Ward was redistributed into the Central Ward, preserving the predominantly African-American demographic in this area; source: John T. Cunningham, *Newark* (3rd ed.) (Newark, NJ: New Jersey Historical Society, 2002).


22. Ibid., 7.


30. Source: 2000 US Census Bureau, American Fact Finder. The Central Ward consist of census tracts 9, 10, 11, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 38, 39, 62, 64, 66, 67, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 227, 228 in Essex County, New Jersey. In some census tracts there is some overlap between the South, North, and East Wards of Newark.

4 (Re)Imagining Home: Black Women and the Cultural Production of Blackness in Newark

1. Shaterra is a pseudonym created to protect the identity of the cashier.

5 The Politics of Homemaking: Black Feminist Transformations of a Cityscape

1. I would like to extend a note of thanks to Ruth Nicole Brown, Mary Hawkesworth, Richa Nagar, Eden Torres, Dara Strolovich, Jigna Desai, and the women of Newark for their support project in all of its various stages. I also wish to extend a note of thanks to the anonymous reviewers and series editors, Dana-Ain Davis and Aimee Cox, for their helpful suggestions and comments on multiple drafts.
2. Spatial stories refer to stories that black women tell about Newark that emphasise the dynamic and shifting elements of Newark’s physical, symbolic, and relational space. It illuminates how activist’s stories on women repudiate stable, bounded, and strictly physical understanding of Newark’s geography. For example, many black women’s understanding of “Newark” is based upon their experiences in organizing and living in the city’s predominantly African–American and Latino Central Ward.
3. The term homeplace, as I am using it, was coined by bell hooks (1990, 42). She writes, “Historically Black women have resisted white supremacist domination by working to establish a homeplace.” Homeplaces are sites of resistance to white supremacist, capitalist patriarchy.
4. Political spaces are complex social spaces that black women must engage and negotiate in order to do their political work of resisting the overlapping effects of race, gender, and class domination. The concept of political space also helps to describe the spatial–temporal configurations of power and become apparent and legible with black women’s efforts to transform their neighborhoods and communities.
5. Most interviews took between two and a half to four hours to complete, and all took place in a single session.
6. Michel de Certeau argues that spatial stories transform places into spaces. He writes, “space exists when one takes into consideration directional velocity and time. Space occurs as the effect produces by the operations that orient it, situate it, and temporalize it, and allows space to function.”


8. Amiri Baraka and his wife, Amina Baraka’s, organization, Committee for a United Newark (CFUN) was instrumental in installing the city’s first black mayor, Kenneth Gibson. Using this uniquely successful model of multiracial, electoral solidarity as a rallying cry, CFUN spearheaded the first Black and Puerto Rican Political Convention in 1969, and the subsequent, National Black Political Convention in 1972 (Mumford 2007, Woodard 1999).

6 Mobilizing after Murder: Black Women Queering Politics and Black Feminism Newark

1. I use the term “queer black women” to refer to self-identified “black women” who transgress norms of heteronormativity in one or more of the following ways: (1) they love and stand in solidarity with black lesbians, gays, transsexual, and transgender people, (2) they take open political stances against sexism, homophobia, and gender violence (rape, gay-bashing, domestic violence, and/or street harassment) that is perpetrated within the African–American community in Newark, and (3) they openly reject hegemonic gender norms that require black people to perform respectability in public spaces.

2. Social capital typically refers to those features of social organization that enhance the possibility of cooperation and collective social action (Putnam 2000). Looking beyond the resources and capacities of individuals, social capital directs attention toward the common resources and capacities of communities made up of complex networks of human relationships. Some basic features of social capital include trust, rapport, and reliable means to interact and demonstrate positive norms of reciprocity with other community members.

3. Building off of Linda Hart’s infamous formulation, I define black heteropatriarchy as the local convergence of processes of black racialization, heterosexualization, and patriarchy.

4. The term “aggressive” is a self-acclaimed gender category of women of color in the northeastern United States who often self-identify as “black” and who have a androgynous, often marked masculine, self-presentations rooted in urban African–American vernacular culture. Interestingly, many “aggressive” or “ag” black women reject the label of lesbian as it does not adequately represent their distinctively racialized
gender performances of sexual identity. In 2005, director Daniel Peddle produced a documentary entitled *The Aggressives* that explores the experiences of aggressive women in New York City.

5. To tap into black women’s spatial resistance, I interviewed 29 activists—black women who have been or continue to be engaged in political activism and who were selected through the process of community nomination. I consulted with informants from each community of practice to identify potential interviewees. The activists who participated in this project are diverse in terms of their socioeconomic status, levels of educational attainment, and age. Six (21%) of the women interviewed were under 40 years of age, with the youngest being 24 years old. Twelve women (41%) were between 40 and 50 years of age. The remaining 11 women (38%) were 50 years or older; the oldest being 79. All of the women interviewed had completed high school, and 16 (55%) had completed an undergraduate college degree. Of those who had completed college, five had gone on to pursue professional graduate degrees. In this chapter, we hear from five gender transgressive black female activists who organized in the aftermath of Sakia Gunn’s death.

6. It should be noted that Mayor James was convicted of only five counts of fraud, and later served a 27 month sentence in a federal prison.

7. Newark Pride Alliance website.


10. This comment was made after Bolden made a public apology for blacking out a yearbook photo of two male students kissing at East Side High School in 2007. Source: Newark AP. Staffwriter, Jeffrey Gold. Bolden’s comments were also featured in the editorial pages of the *New York Times*, the *New Jersey Star Ledger*, and the online newsletter of the Trenton Gay and Lesbian Civic Association. See for instance, “Newark needs a safe place for gay youth” in *New Jersey Star Ledger*, March 24, 2009.


13. Developed by Erving Goffman, frame analysis is a strategy of making sense of the meaning that social actors attribute to often taken-for-granted actions, interactions, and larger social phenomenon. Goffman writes, “I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them: frame is the word I use to refer to such basic elements as I am able to identify” (1974, 11).
14. This “new racism” includes contemporary manifestations of age-old racial ideologies facilitated by contemporary processes of globalization, transnational corporate hegemony, and the global proliferation of racial ideologies via mass media.

15. For more general discussion on the deployment of identity, politics, and discursive practices see Fernandes (2003) and Rodriguez (2003).

7 KEEPIN’ UP THE FIGHT: YOUNG BLACK FEMINISTS AND THE HIP HOP CONVENTION MOVEMENT

5. For extended discussions about the impact of how the conservative social and economic policies of the 1980s (i.e., “Reaganomics”) impacted inner urban youth culture and hip hop cultural production see also Forman (2002), Rose (1994), and Shomari (1995).
8. Ibid. Also, for instance, national organizers initiated contact with very highly respected African–American political leaders and entertainers including Cynthia McKinney, Kwame Kilpatrick, Jesse Jackson Jr., Al Sharpton, Russell Simmons, Chuck D, Mos Def, David Muhammad, Queen Latifah, and Sista Souljah among many others.
11. Personal interview with early convention founder who preferred to remain anonymous.
13. In defining the inherent phallanthrocentrism of this cohort’s understanding of black political activism, Kitwana writes, “Undoubtedly part
of the status that Ras Baraka and Jesse Jackson, Jr. have achieved as activists/politicians comes from their familial connections. This generation represents a new age in Black America’s activism, Baraka’s and Jackson’s comments above reflect both a new level of political sophistication and a new political reality” (2002, 147).

14. Personal interviews with Hashim Shomari. Also included in the minutes from the second national organizing meeting for the Convention.

15. From 1999 to 2006 Sharpe James served in both capacity as Mayor of Newark and Senator of the 29th Legislative District of New Jersey.


17. Ibid.


19. Ibid.

8 The Audacity to Resist: Black Women, Social Capital, and Black Cultural Production

1. Personal interview with Rosa Clemente (July 12, 2012). Also see “Russell Simmons, You Are Not Hip Hop” an open letter published in the Village Voice on April 24, 2001. Clemente’s open letter was featured in “Hip Hop War” by Peter Noel, staff-writer for the Village Voice.

2. The People’s Organization for Progress grew out of the leadership of the Black Student Movement in New Jersey, which facilitated the development of Black Student Unions on high school and college campuses in Northern New Jersey. The organization was instrumental in the anti-apartheid movement, in which a number of the political women identified in this study took part.

3. Personal interview with People’s Organization for Progress national chair, Larry Hamm.

4. It should be noted that the few gay men who attended the convention, also identified with and participated in the final proposals of PWC.

Appendix

1. Many, but not all, subjects names have been changed to preserve confidentiality. SuSu Stewart, Frederica Bey, Fayemi Shakur, Dana Rone, LaQuettra Nelson, June Dowell, Kim Gaddy, Veronica Osorio, and Gayle Chaneyfield Jenkins have all preferred to go on record.


Hanson, Joyce A. Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women’s Political Activism. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003.


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